

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 008326

FOR UNIDO AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM USUN NEW YORK DATED JANUARY 6, 1978  
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TAGS: EGEN, UNGA, ECOSOC

SUBJ: 32ND UNGA - SECOND COMMITTEE WRAP-UP

1. SUMMARY: DURING THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE  
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SECOND COMMITTEE PASSED A RECORD NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS  
WITH PERHAPS AN EVEN GREATER BUNCHING-UP AT THE END THAN  
USUAL. VOTING PATTERNS VARIED CONSIDERABLY; THE SOCIALIST  
BLOC ABSTAINED ON FOUR RESOLUTIONS ON UN CONFERENCES; THE  
U.S. SUPPORTED FOUR RESOLUTIONS ON WHICH SOME MEMBERS OF  
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ABSTAINED; AND THE COMMUNITY WAS  
DIVIDED ON VOTES MORE OFTEN THAN NOT. THE U.S. WAS ALONE

IN "NOT PARTICIPATING" IN A CONSENSUS DECISION ON ASSISTANCE TO VIET NAM. THE DECISION ON A RESOLUTION ON THE COMMON FUND (THIRTEEN WESTERN ABSTENTIONS) WAS THE ONLY REAL ECHO OF PAST NORTH/SOUTH CONFRONTATION IN A SESSION THE MISSION (AND WE BELIEVE MOST OTHER MISSIONS) WOULD CHARACTERIZE AS CLEARLY POSITIVE. TWO CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENTS -- CONSENSUS DECISIONS ON AN OVERVIEW MECHANISM AND ON RESTRUCTURING -- AND, EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THE WAY IN WHICH THESE AND OTHER NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONDUCTED SUGGEST THE POSSIBILITY WE HAVE TURNED THE CORNER TO GENUINE, IF DIFFICULT, COLLABORATION WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THIS POTENTIAL FOR COLLABORATION IS BASED ON OUR EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO SEEK CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AND A RECIPROCAL REALIZATION THAT ACHIEVING A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER WILL BE A GRADUAL CONSENSUS-BUILDING PROCESS. NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTYEIGHT PROVIDES A HOST OF OPPORTUNITIES BEGINNING WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OVERVIEW RESOLUTION TO TEST AND STRENGTHEN THIS COLLABORATION. IT WILL REQUIRE AN INTENSIFICATION OF CONTACT WITH THE G-77 -- AT UN CENTERS AND IN CAPITALS -- A MUTUAL WILLINGNESS TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S VIEWS AND, ON OUR SIDE, AN HONEST SEARCH FOR MEANS IN WHICH OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED FOR CHANGE CAN BE GIVEN CONCRETE EXPRESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SECOND COMMITTEE ADOPTED A RECORD NUMBER OF 65 RESOLUTIONS DURING THE 32ND SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND  
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SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME WITH A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS WHICH WERE EVENTUALLY WITHDRAWN OR PASSED ON TO THE 33RD GA FOR FUTURE CONSIDERATION. (G-77 PROJECTS ON A NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY AND ON UNCTAD). WHILE CONSENSUS WAS NOT ALWAYS ACHIEVED, VOTING PATTERNS VARIED CONSIDERABLY IN CASES WHEN IT WAS NOT. DELEGATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST STATES, FOR EXAMPLE, WERE ALONE IN ABSTAINING ON TWO RESOLUTIONS FOR UN CONFERENCES (WATER AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY) AND ON A RESOLUTION ON TRANSFER OF REAL RESOURCES, ABSTAINED IN THE COMPANY OF SOME WEO'S (BUT NOT U.S.) ON TWO OTHER "CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS" (DESERTIFICATION AND HABITAT), BUT WERE THE ONLY OTHERS BESIDES THE U.S. NOT TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF A RESOLUTION ON UNIDO AS A SPECIALIZED AGENCY. THE U.S. VOTED "YES" ON FOUR RESOLUTIONS ON WHICH AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ABSTAINED (ON INFLATION, INVESTMENT INSURANCE, DESERTIFICATION, AND HABITAT). MEMBERS OF THE EC-9 WERE ON DIFFERENT SIDES OF A VOTE MORE OFTEN THAN NOT. ON A G-77 DEBT RESOLUTION INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES OF EAST AND WEST ABSTAINED AS A BLOC (WITH THE U.S. VOTING NO), WHILE ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES WESTERN COUNTRIES VOTING NO OR ABSTAINING WERE JOINED BY LATIN AMERICANS AND OTHER DELEGATIONS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ON THE YEARLY RESOLUTIONS ON LAND-

LOCKED COUNTRIES, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES VOTED DIFFERENTLY DEPENDING ON THEIR VIEWS ON SUCH QUESTIONS AS ACCESS TO THE SEA. THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED PASSAGE WITHOUT A VOTE OF A RESOLUTION ON ASSISTANCE TO VIET NAM BUT ANNOUNCED BOTH IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE AND IN PLENARY (CONTRARY TO USUAL PRACTICE) THAT IT HAD NOT PARTICIPATED IN THE CONSENSUS. BECAUSE OF THIS DIVERSITY OF VOTING PATTERNS, THE ONLY MAJOR RESOLUTION (OTHER THAN THE "UP HAND - DOWN HANDS" CASE OF DEBT) ON WHICH A PRONOUNCED NORTH/SOUTH CONFLICT EMERGED WAS THE ONE PROMPTED BY A RESOLUTION ON THE SUSPENSION OF THE COMMON FUND NEGOTIATIONS. THIS RESOLUTION PASSED WITH THIRTEEN WESTERN ABSTENTIONS (U.S., CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, UK, FRANCE, FRG, IRELAND, ITALY, BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG, GREECE, AND JAPAN). THE VOTE WAS TAKEN AFTER A BALANCED TEXT, PRODUCED AFTER CONFIDENTIAL

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LONG AND DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN DELEGATIONS ON THE ONE SIDE AND VENEZUELA AND OTHER G-77 MODERATES ON THE OTHER, FAILED TO RECEIVE G-77 APPROVAL. THE 77 LEADERSHIP, WELL AWARE OF THE POTENTIAL NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE VOTE BOTH ON WESTERN REFLECTIONS ON THE ECONOMIC DIALOGUE IN THE UN AND ON THE COMMON FUND NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES, SOON THEREAFTER WITHDREW A CONTROVERSIAL RESOLUTION ON UNCTAD WITH PRIVATE URGINGS THAT THIS GESTURE "BE KEPT IN MIND" WHEN REPORTING ON THE COMMON FUND RESOLUTION. THE G-77 ALSO REFRAINED FROM PRESSING ACTION ON A DIFFICULT DRAFT ON A NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY, WHICH WAS SIMPLY TRANSMITTED TO THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

3. DESPITE SUCH DEPARTURES FROM PREVIOUS PATTERNS, A NUMBER OF CONSTANT FACTORS STILL REMAINED. ALTHOUGH THE U.S. TABLED TWO RESOLUTIONS (NETWORK FOR TECHNOLOGICAL INFORMATION AND OVERVIEW), AND THE EC-9 PRESENTED THEIR VIEWS IN RESOLUTION FORM (ALBEIT NOT FORMALLY), MOST MAJOR RESOLUTIONS ON GLOBAL ECONOMIC ISSUES WERE BASED ON G-77 PROPOSALS. THESE WENT THROUGH THE PROCESS OF LENGTHY DEBATE AND CONSENSUS BUILDING WITHIN THE G-77 PRIOR TO THEIR PRESENTATION IN THE NAME OF THE GROUP. PERHAPS EVEN MORE THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS THIS MEANT A FEVER-PITCH OF ACTIVITY AT THE END OF THE SESSION WITH A DRAWN-OUT PERIOD OF SPEECHES AND WAITING AT THE BEGINNING. AS BEFORE, THE EXCEPTION TO THE ABOVE WERE RESOLUTIONS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS -- FROM THE WATER CONFERENCE TO FOOD -- WHERE RESOLUTIONS WERE MOST OFTEN TABLED WITH A VARIETY OF DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRY CO-SPONSORS, AMONG WHICH THE UNITED STATES FIGURED QUITE FREQUENTLY.

5. THE BEHAVIOR OF COUNTRIES AND GROUPS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE G-77 MERITS SOME ATTENTION. THE EC-9 MADE A RATHER CONFIDENTIAL

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POOR APPEARANCE AS A GROUP. AT LEAST IN THE ECONOMIC AREA THE BELGIAN MISSION (EC PRESIDENCY) PROVIDED WEAK LEADERSHIP, WHILE COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVES REMAINED IN THE BACKGROUND OF SECOND COMMITTEE ACTION. MORE SIGNIFICANT, INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES PLAYED THEIR OWN GAME WITH OR WITHOUT THE COMMUNITY WHEN IT SUITED THEM. FRANCE STRUGGLED TO KEEP THE COMMUNITY BEHIND ITS RIGID POSITION ON RESTRUCTURING; THE NETHERLANDS REFUSED TO SUPPORT THE COMMUNITY'S PROPOSALS ON OVERVIEW AND MADE A STATEMENT AFTER PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION WHICH SHOCKED EVEN THE G-77; AND THE FRG'S RIGID POSTURE MORE THAN ONCE THREATENED TO DISRUPT DELICATE COMPROMISES. BELGIUM, ITALY, AND FRANCE ALSO PARTED COMPANY WITH OTHER EC MEMBERS ON OTHER ISSUES. VOTES AMONG COMMUNITY MEMBERS VARIED MORE OFTEN THAN NOT. FINALLY, EVEN WHEN THE COMMUNITY WAS REASONABLY UNITED (AS ON OVERVIEW, EXCEPT FOR THE NETHERLANDS), THEIR FOCUS WAS OFTEN ON SECONDARY ISSUES, AND THEIR CAPACITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE 77 SEEMED LIMITED, AT LEAST IN PART DUE TO PERSONALITY FACTORS. THE U.S. DELEGATION CONTINUED CLOSE BILATERAL CONTACT -- PARTICULARLY WITH THE DELEGATIONS OF FRANCE, THE UK, AND THE FRG AND BELGIUM (IN ITS EC CAPACITY). THE JAPANESE DELEGATION AT TIMES TOOK A MORE ACTIVE ROLE THAN IN THE PAST, AS DID THAT OF AUSTRALIA. THE SWEDISH DELEGATION PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN OVERVIEW CONSULTATIONS, AS DID THE NORDICS IN GENERAL IN THE RESTRUCTURING EXERCISE. THE CANADIAN DELEGATION WAS ACTIVE AND GENERALLY COOPERATIVE. THE STRONG PERSONALITY OF CANADA'S ECONOMIC COUNSELLOR (KINSMAN) MADE ITSELF FELT IN ALL FORA, GENERALLY IN HARMONY WITH U.S. INTERESTS.

6. THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES DEALT THEMSELVES OUT OF MUCH OF THE ECONOMIC DIALOGUE. AS THE SESSION OPENED, THEY MADE IT CLEAR (IN THE FACE OF EFFORTS OF THE U.S. AND OTHERS TO LIMIT DEBATE) THAT THEY CONSIDERED SPEECHMAKING, NOT RESOLUTIONS, THE PRINCIPAL USE OF THE COMMITTEE. LATER THEY ABSTAINED ON ALL FOUR MAJOR CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS (WATER, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, DESERTIFICATION, AND HABITAT FOLLOW-  
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UP) AND PLAYED ALMOST NO ROLE IN NEGOTIATING THE OVERVIEW TEXT. WHEN THEY DID INTERVENE, IT WAS GENERALLY TO TRY TO EXCLUDE THEMSELVES FROM ANY OBLIGATION TO AID DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OR TO PROTECT THEIR PACKETBOOKS MORE DIRECTLY, RELATIVE TO UN EXPENDITURES. THE CHINESE, ALTHOUGH VOCIFEROUSLY DEFENDING G-77 POSITIONS AND ATTACKING THE "SUPERPOWERS" ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, DID NOT PLAY A VERY ACTIVE ROLE.

THEY DID NOT PROVOKE ANY REPLIES FROM THE USSR. VIET NAM, NEWLY ADMITTED, PLACED ITSELF SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE G-77. ALTHOUGH RECALLING WARTIME DAMAGE AND DESTRUCTION ON OCCASIONS PERMITTING IT, THEY DID NOT ATTACK THE U.S. BY NAME OR OTHERWISE SEEK TO PROVOKE US, DESPITE OUR ANNOUNCED NON-PARTICIPATION IN A CONSENSUS DECISION ON ASSISTANCE. ROMANIA CONTINUED TO BE ALIGNED SQUARELY WITH THE G-77.

7. THE MAJOR IMPORTANCE OF THIS SESSION, HOWEVER, IS IN ITS RELATION TO THE DIALOGUE WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN THIS AREA, THE MISSION'S ASSESSMENT IS BASICALLY POSITIVE. WE BELIEVE THIS VIEW IS PROBABLY SHARED WITH DELEGATIONS OF ALL WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRY DELEGATIONS. THIS POSITIVE ASSESSMENT MAY BE RELATED TO TWO TANGIBLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS: THE CONSENSUS RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE AS AN OVERVIEW MECHANISM AND CONSENSUS APPROVAL OF THE REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON RESTRUCTURING. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE TWO SERVE TO CENTER THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC DIALOGUE ON DEVELOPMENT IN THE UN, WHILE STRENGTHENING THE ORGANIZATION'S CAPACITY TO DEAL WITH IT. BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, IN THE MISSION'S VIEW, IT WAS THE WAY IN WHICH THESE AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED AND, INDEED, EVEN THE WAY IN WHICH DISAGREEMENTS WERE HANDLED, WHICH GIVES CAUSE FOR A POSITIVE ASSESSMENTS.

8. IF THE 31ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY COULD BE CHARACTERIZED AS ONE IN WHICH CONFRONTATION WAS MUTED, THE 32ND MARKS, IN  
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THE MISSION'S VIEW, WHAT COULD BE THE BEGINNING OF A TURN TO A GENUINE, ALBEIT DIFFICULT, COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE GROUP OF 77. BOTH THE RESTRUCTURING AND OVERVIEW EXERCISES WERE BROUGHT TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSIONS THROUGH DISCUSSIONS IN HIGHLY RESTRICTED GROUPS, ORGANIZED EITHER BY MORE "OFFICIAL" BODIES (AS IN THE CASE OF RESTRUCTURING) OR BY THE G-77 LEADERSHIP (IN THE CASE OF OVERVIEW). THE SAME APPROACH WAS APPLIED, ALBEIT UNSUCCESSFULLY, ON THE COMMON FUND RESOLUTION AS WELL AS ON THE UNCTAD RESOLUTION AND ON THE QUESTION OF THE SITE FOR THE UN CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT. IN A MORE GENERAL WAY, DISCUSSIONS WITH THE G-77 LEADERSHIP IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS WERE HELD ON MANY LEVELS, RANGING DOWNWARD FROM THE DEPUTY SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD OF THE RESUMED 31ST AND 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLIES. IN ALL OF THESE THE UNITED STATES AGAIN TOOK ITS PLACE IN THE CENTER OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC DIALOGUE.

9. IT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, TO CLARIFY WHAT THIS NASCENT UNDERSTANDING IS, WHAT IT IS NOT, AND WHAT ARE ITS CHANCES FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT. THE SEARCH FOR ITS ORIGINS TAKES ONE TO BOTH SIDES OF THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE. THE U.S., IN THE

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE UN IN MARCH, IN THE SECRETARY'S REMARKS AT CIEC, AND IN AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S REMARKS AT ECOSOC AND AT THE OPENING OF THE RESUMED 31ST GA, HAS INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO SEEK CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT OUR CONCEPT OF THIS PROCESS OF CHANGE IS STILL FAR FROM THAT PRESCRIBED IN THE "SACRED TEXTS" OF THE G-77 AND, INDEED, THAT WE ARE STILL IN A LEARNING STAGE, EXPLORING THE CONCRETE STEPS WE CAN TAKE. THIS IS UNDERSTOOD. IT IS RELOCATED ON THE SIDE OF THE G-77 BY A REALIZATION THAT "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NIEO" WILL INDEED BE A LONG PROCESS WHICH MUST BE BASED ON AGREEMENTS AND NOT DISPUTED TEXTS. IN OUR VIEW, THE G-77 HAVE BEGUN TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY WILL NOT PERMIT REALIZABLE PROGRESS TO BE BLOCKED BY RHETORICAL PROBLEMS.

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LEMS OR BY UNREALISTIC DEMANDS.

10. ON THE OTHER HAND -- AND THIS MUST BE STRESSED -- THERE IS NOT, AND WILL NOT BE A DECISION ON THE PART OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, IMPLICIT OR EXPLICIT, TO ACCEPT THE STATUS QUO DECORATED WITH A BIT OF CHRISTMAS TINSEL. THEIR COMMITMENT TO "RESTRUCTURING THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM" IS ENDURING, AND THE LIST OF AREAS FOR WORK, EVEN IF STRIPPED OF RHETORICAL PHRASES, REMAINS REDOUBTABLE. NOR, AS A FINAL CAUTION, SHOULD IT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE 77 REMAINS AN UNWIELD GROUP WITH A LARGE CAPACITY FOR RECALCITRANCE ON THE PART OF "BACK BENCHERS," RADICAL AND OTHERWISE. FOR THE MOMENT, IN FACE OF THE OVER-RIDING BELIEF IN THE UTILITY OF GROUP COHESION, WE WILL NOT BE RID OF THE POTENTIAL PROBLEMS, BOTH MECHANICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE, WHICH ARE INHERENT IN THIS SYSTEM.

11. WHAT THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS CLOSED WITH THEN IS A "WEATHERVANE" IN DELICATE BALANCE, TURNING IN DIRECTION BUT STILL SUSCEPTIBLE OF BEING TURNED OFF COURSE OR UPSET ENTIRELY. FOR THE U.S. THERE IS GREAT OPPORTUNITY AHEAD IF WE CAN PURSUE IT. DECISIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF BOTH OVERVIEW AND RESTRUCTURING WILL REQUIRE FOLLOW-UP, BEGINNING ONLY WEEKS FROM NOW. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE BEGIN THE OVERVIEW PROCESS IN A SPIRIT OF OPENNESS AND NOT WITH PREOCCUPATION OF "DAMAGE-LIMITING." THE UNCTAD MINISTERIAL WITH ITS FOCUS ON DEBT, THE CONFERENCE OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES, HOWEVER ORGANIZED, ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIDO AS A SPECIALIZED AGENCY, AND RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON A COMMON FUND ALSO ARE FORESEEN FOR THE NEAR FUTURE, AND FINAL DECISIONS ON CODES OF CONDUCT FOR TNC'S AND THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY MAY ALSO BE REQUIRED IN 1978. THIS WRAP-UP IS NOT THE PLACE FOR THE MISSION'S SUBSTANTIVE RECOMMENDATIONS ON ANY ONE

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OF THESE, BUT IT IS THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT FOR DISCUSSING THE CONDUCT OF OUR EFFORTS RELATIVE TO ALL.

12. THE MISSION'S PRIMARY RECOMMENDATION IS THAT THE PRACTICE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE G-77 LEADERSHIP ON BOTH GENERAL AND SPECIFIC ISSUES BE FURTHER REINFORCED -- IN NEW YORK, IN GENEVA, AND IN THE APPROPRIATE CAPITALS. MISSIONS IN NEW YORK AND GENEVA KNOW THE APPROPRIATE MISSIONS AND PERSONALITIES INVOLVED IN EACH QUESTION; APPROACHES IN CAPITALS SHOULD BE NOT ONLY CAREFULLY TAILORED TO EACH COUNTRY'S VIEWS AND POSITIONS (I.E. NO CIRCULAR INSTRUCTIONS EQUATING THE SEYCHELLES WITH YUGOSLAVIA) AND, WHERE POSSIBLE, INCLUDING THE NAMES OF SPECIFIC GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CONVERSANT WITH ISSUES<sup>9</sup>/.

13. SUCH CONSULTATIONS, IF THEY ARE TO BE GENUINELY USEFUL, SHOULD REPRESENT A REAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, NOT A RECITATION OF POSITIONS OR A DEBATE. MISSIONS AND APPROPRIATE POSTS SHOULD CAREFULLY EVALUATE COMMENTS OF G-77 INTERLOCUTORS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS SO THAT THE DEPARTMENT MAY BEST KNOW WHICH ASPECTS OF A PROBLEM BEST LEND THEMSELVES TO MOVEMENT AND TO RECONSIDERATION OF POSITIONS ON ALL SIDES. WHEN WE OURSELVES HAVE MADE SUCH RECONSIDERATIONS OF POSITION, GENERALLY IN ANTICIPATION OF A MEETING OR NEGOTIATION, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF MISSIONS AND POSTS WERE INFORMED AND WERE ABLE, WITH DISCRETION, AT LEAST TO "POINT" THEIR G-77 PARTNERS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION (AND, CONVERSELY, STEER THEM AWAY FROM AREAS OR PROPOSALS ON WHICH WE CANNOT "MOVE").

14. IF SUCH A PROCESS OF CONSULTATION IS TO GROW, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PURSUE IT ON THE BASIS OF TWO FUNDAMENTAL ATTITUDES: ONE IS THAT THE G-77 NOT BE CONSIDERED "THE ENEMY" TO WHOM ANY "CONCESSION" IS YET ANOTHER PIECE OF SALAMI SLICED OFF BY A COLLECTIVE THIRD WORLD MATYAS RAKOSI BUT AS PARTNERS IN A PROCESS OF CHANGE; TWO IS THAT WE, IN FACT, BE COMMITTED TO SUCH CHANGE AND BE CONSTANTLY

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SEARCHING FOR MEANS OF REALIZING IT WHICH ARE CONSISTENT WITH U.S. PRINCIPLES, U.S. INTERESTS, AND THE U.S. ECONOMIC SYSTEM. UNDER SECRETARY COOPER, IN HIS ADDRESS IN GENERAL DEBATE IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE, SPOKE OF THE JOINT RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL NATIONS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE WORLD ECONOMY. THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY SET UP MECHANISMS AND PERHAPS STRENGTHENED ATTITUDES WHICH COULD PROMOTE SUCH

JOINT RESPONSIBILITY. OUR POLICIES AND OUR TACTICS TOWARDS THE G-77 SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO BRING SUCH A SENSE OF MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY EVEN CLOSER TO REALITY. BUT IT CANNOT BE DONE "ON THE CHEAP" -- WITHOUT SERIOUS RETHINKING OF POLICIES, GENUINE CREATIVITY, AND NEW APPROACHES TO DIPLOMATIC ACTION.

15. THE POTENTIAL REWARDS OF SUCH AN APPROACH ARE MANY. TACTICALLY, WE HAVE LEARNED THAT MONOLITHIC G-77 APPROACHES TEND TO BREAK DOWN IF WESTERN POSITIONS GET CLOSE ENOUGH TO MEETING THE REAL INTERESTS OF SOME G-77 COUNTRIES OR GROUPS. HENCE, THE ALL-OUT EFFORT WE MADE TO ACHIEVE A CONSENSUS ON THE COMMON FUND ENCOURAGED RECIPROCAL EFFORTS BY THOSE WITH THE GREATEST INTEREST IN THE UN'S ROLE IN COMMODITY PRICE STABILIZATION -- CHIEFLY THE LATIN AMERICANS. UNFORTUNATELY, THEY DID NOT PREVAIL IN THE WAY THE G-77 LEADERSHIP SUCCEEDED IN MAKING AND SELLING THE COMPROMISES NECESSARY TO SET UP THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE. SUBSTANTIVELY, THE REWARDS ARE POTENTIALLY EVEN GREATER. ONLY ONE NEED TO MENTIONED. EFFORTS BY THE WEST TO DISCUSS ENERGY PRICES IN INTERNATIONAL FORA ARE STILL REBUFFED BY OPEC COUNTRIES WHO WILL DISCUSS THEM "ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NIEO." WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN AMPLE SIGNS, HOWEVER, THAT ONCE, IN FACT, WE DO BEGIN "DISCUSSING NIEO," I.E. THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CHANGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM, THE QUESTION OF ENERGY AND OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OIL PRODUCERS FOR

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FACILITATING SUCH CHANGE WILL NO LONGER BE LEFT OUTSIDE.

16. MISSIONSUGGESTS THAT THE ABOVE MESSAGE BE RELAYED TO AT LEAST THE FOLLOWING POSTS (WHICH INCLUDE CAPITALS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WE CONSIDER AS LEADERS OF THE G-77): ALL EC CAPITALS, OTTAWA, STOCKHOLM, CANBERRA, TOKYO, WELLINGTON, MOSCOW, BUCHAREST, KINGSTON, ISLAMABAD, BELGRADE, BRASILIA, BUENOS AIRES, CARACAS, TEHERAN, LAGOS, NAIROBI, DJAKARTA, NEW DELHI.

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